

The University of Chicago

THE POLITICAL SCIENCE OF NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI

A PART OF A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE
SOCIAL SCIENCES IN CANDIDACY FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
AUGUST, 1941

By
NORMAN WOOD BECK

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PREFACE

Is coercion effective in human direction? Can social order be established on the basis of terror? The persisting significance of Machiavelli rests upon the answer to these questions.

The Florentine Citizen, the spokesman for the only republic which was the spiritual successor of free Athens, has much to say to men whose state originated with the Declaration of Independence. His basic standpoint is the view that through observing experience in exercising judgment men can probably derive adequate clues for human direction and thus by enlightened will displace Chance and her violent ways. This hypothesis came as directly out of the life of the liberty-loving Florentines as Socrates' devotion to freedom of inquiry did from that of the Athenians. Machiavelli has frequently been presented as the incarnation of intrigue and violence; but the study of his own testimony makes clear that the emphasis on violence and terror was not the characteristic of his thought. The fictions to which he resorted when attempting to defend claims of privilege with respect to his family, class and city are not to be confused with his fundamental assumption: that lawfulness is found through intelligent action and, consequently, there is an inverse relation between intelligence and coercion. The fictions are, indeed, special aspects of his central position, for there is discoverable throughout a deep unity in his thought.

This study into the effectiveness of coercion in human direction has itself something of a personal history. During

that interval between my study of the Italian Renaissance through the works of Davidsohn, Doren, Sismondi, Burckhardt, Berenson, and my reading of Machiavelli's works, then the biographies of Machiavelli and a restudy of his works--this question was emerging from a broader inquiry into the findings of social science on the question: can human beings maintain social relationships in the light of the whole truth? This phase of the preparation I considered incidental to the underlying problem of the conditions of constructive political thinking. After the inquiry into this problem had first been formulated in conversation with Professor Charles E. Merriam as we walked the deck of the S.S. "President Roosevelt" returning from Europe in late September 1926, I sought the conditions of constructive thinking in philosophy and psychology and then in the biographies of inventors, scientists, artists, poets, prophets. When ready to concentrate upon its political aspect I found that for political thinkers before Machiavelli the personal records were far too inadequate for the close analysis which the techniques of modern social science have made possible. Consequently I turned from my studies of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle to Machiavelli.

Since in Dewey's Essays in Experimental Logic I had encountered the view that although one idea does follow another, we have never discovered why one idea follows another and are therefore wise if we plan our inquiries in terms of finding the conditions which accompany sequences of ideas, I did not expect to find causal relations. However, when I was first planning a course on the history of political thought, the pilot of my undergraduate education at the University of Chicago, Professor George H. Mead, had suggested that the meaning of a thinker could be most penetratingly discovered if one approached his expression

through searching out those individuals and groups in his contemporary society who wanted him curbed or suppressed and those who sought to gain him a hearing. For the beginning of such a study into the conditions of constructive political thinking, the records of Machiavelli and his contemporary Florence appeared sufficient.

In studying Machiavelli I have kept as close as I could to his own thought through English, French and German translations. Of secondary sources I read only the biographers, except Tommasini, since I assumed that those who approached him as a whole personality might gain a truer perspective with respect to his expression. I do not, of course, deny the value of special analytic approaches but have chosen to make any examination of them subsequent rather than prior to or along with the development of the understanding of Machiavelli by this other method. In view of the difference of method which I have employed and the storms of controversy which Machiavelli still arouses, I have thought it desirable to accompany the analysis with his own words wherever possible.

The selection of references is the result of the following procedure. As I studied all of Machiavelli's published and translated works--as well as his letters, untranslated, in the Alvisi edition--I listed the instances which I noticed of return to the same topic and arranged them chronologically. Some three hundred and fifty topics appeared with sufficient repetition to be noticed. Eleven, however, appeared with greater frequency and recurred during more periods of his life than did the others. For this study I have selected that one of these which has most specifically to do with his political science. Each reference is accompanied by the list of others arranged in chronological order

so that on any of the references one can easily trace the development of his thought with respect to it through his early works, official correspondence, poems, political and dramatic writings, and private correspondence. Although this study is not a biography, each chapter does follow its phase of Machiavelli throughout his life and succeeding chapters center in later periods of his life, giving to the whole something of a biographical pattern. Selections which I have used but which had not been published in English, I have had translated from the best available Italian texts.

What Machiavelli had to say to men of all times and especially to our own period as we meet on a new level the old problems has seemed to me of such vital importance that I have felt justified in indicating the assistance which a direct acquaintance with him can give us as we struggle for clear direction today. The analysis of Machiavelli's political science is concluded with chapter viii. In chapter ix, I undertake to set forth evidence for the position that the use of coercion conflicts with effective human direction and thereby give the basis for the perception of the unity in his thought and the relation which his contribution has for the order of freedom as it has developed during the intervening centuries.

* * * * *

An adequate recognition of all of those who contribute to the completion of an undertaking would refresh all mankind, past and present, with a new and universally significant act of good will. All of those who throughout the ages have developed and provided materials, techniques, attitudes and the facilities for using these in revealing the friendliness of living, pervade such a moment and the sense of their presence invests it with a sacra-

mental character. At the completion of one's first major project, he can well perceive the overwhelming sense of gratitude which has led many sensitive spirits to dedicate the firstfruits of their labor to the Creator. Co-operation is always present, many times in ways too subtle to be identified; but when one is first working through to articulateness, that co-operation comes with such surprising generosity and variety that it reveals the heart of joy in living and renews the strength for attacking and removing the remaining barriers until the work is complete. However well or ill the result may justify the faith, those acts which strengthened the effort have the quality which liberate the creative spirit.

Out of the many which crowd my memory I can mention but a few here. Throughout the years the inspiration which my wife has given has been as oxygen to one in rare atmosphere. She has implemented faithful encouragement with illuminating suggestions, editorial criticism, and secretarial assistance. My parents, as well as Mr. and Mrs. Mead and Professor Charles E. Merriam all contributed to the conviction that one should seek "the effective truth of the matter" rather than yield to the delusive evasions of "limiting" factors. The faithful interest which Mr. Merriam has maintained through the years has given constant stimulus and helpful direction. Early in the study the Department of Political Science of the University of Chicago granted me a fellowship which enabled me to devote a year to the study of the conditions of constructive thinking. Soon thereafter, Miss Grace Given made it possible for me to study the Florentine background of Machiavelli as a political inventor. Later I received from Dartmouth College a half year sabbatical leave which assisted me in bringing the study of Machiavelli to completion. My colleagues have shown

understanding as well as every desire to facilitate the progress of the work. The libraries of Dartmouth College and Columbia University gave me full co-operation in the use of their facilities. With skilful intelligence Miss Augusta Boschini translated from the Italian the passages included which had not previously been translated into English and interpreted many sections with hitherto doubtful meanings. Miss Sally Jackson, as my wife's secretary, gave untiring aid in the early stages of the typing of the manuscript. In one breath-taking moment, Mrs. Grace S. R. Hillyer offered to type the revised manuscript and carried out her generous impulse. To Professor John M. Gauss, Professor T. V. Smith, and Dr. Nathan Leites, I am greatly indebted for readings of the manuscript and for many penetrating critical comments. Professor Merriam, Professor Leonard White, Professor Quincy Wright, Professor T. V. Smith, Professor Harold F. Gosnell, and Dr. Leites spared no pains in providing immediate consideration for the study when it was completed. In these last stages Professor Herman Pritchett co-operated generously. To Professor Evelyn M. Albright I would express my appreciation for her timely suggestions and friendly counsel during recent years. Those who have prepared manuscripts for publication can have an idea of the appreciation due to Mrs. Kate Turabian for the ready understanding and lucid instructions which have been of great assistance.

To all who are mentioned here and to those many others whose friendly impulses made up the refreshing fountain of faith, may I say that I am aware that reference in a preface is far from an adequate recognition. If, however, the defects of the work are debited to me, as they truly should be, and the virtues are attributed to the responses which your generosity prompted, you will, I hope, find good the fruit of your friendly interest.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

When at thirty-two Nicolo Machiavelli married Marietta Corsini, he had already been the spokesman for his family in seeking protection for their ancient property rights against the powerful Pazzi family, he had won in a competition the appointment to the public office which during fifteen years he was to distinguish with achievements for his city and he had carried through four or five missions in Florentine territory and abroad including one to France.

Machiavelli enjoyed many of the factors which develop confidence and help maintain courage. A son of Florentine bourgeoisie at this time inherited the richest culture of mediaeval Europe and the classical revival, and with it the belief that one's achievement is limited only by his talents. Raised as he was in a family of four children with both an elder brother and younger sisters, he suffered neither the isolation of an only child nor the timidity with respect to the other sex which sometimes occurs in those whose siblings are of the same sex. Both of his parents were alive until his twenty-seventh year at which time he may already have entered public life. His mother died when he was twenty-six, his father when he was thirty-one--two years after his major appointment and a year or two before his marriage.

Though the Machiavelli family was outstanding neither for wealth nor rank in the city, it probably reached back into the nobility of the late middle ages and its name appeared among the "notable persons of the popolani" exiled in 1260. Fifty-four of

its members served the city as priors and thirteen as gonfaloniers of Justice. One ancestor, Alessandro, died in the Holy Land and was recognized by the Church as among the Blessed. Machiavelli recounts in The History the exile, struggle, capture and death in prison in 1456 of Girolamo Machiavelli for opposing the Medician seizure of the government. Machiavelli's father, a member of the privileged Lawyers and Notaries Guild, had been drawn into the administrative service along with scions of other Florentine families which, celebrated for their support of the people's cause, the Medici desired to attach to themselves. The property which Machiavelli inherited from his father barely enabled him to consider his public work more as a matter of civic interest than as a means of meeting his economic necessities. The surplus was not sufficient, however, to protect him against distress over the burden of debt into which every mission drove him. At one time rumors regarding his family's history appear to have endangered his position; it has been surmised that his father was illegitimate. His leading biographers, Villari and Tommasini, consider the evidence supporting such an hypothesis completely inadequate. It may have been that enemies revived and tried to use against him the memory of Girolamo's effort to raise a force against Florence under the Medici. His mother's family, the Nelli, were more distinguished in Florence than were the Machiavelli. She herself was a woman of culture and piety, a composer of religious songs. By marrying into the Corsini, Machiavelli was considered to have improved his social position. Certainly Marietta brought with her a dowry which was notable both from the point of view of custom and of his own resources.

Machiavelli was one of a band of good companions who together made explorations into love and politics and were jealous

for each others' interests. Biagio Buonaccorsi, his best friend and his assistant in the bureau, cherished his reputation with the authorities, kept him informed of events in his absence and on several crucial occasions actively intervened on his behalf. The much more formal friendship with Marcello Adriani, the secretary of the Chancellory, had originally aided in his appointment. Through Adriani he won the unwavering support of Soderini, Savonarola's successor as head of the government, who repeatedly showed that he considered Machiavelli his specially trusted aide. In the same year that Machiavelli married, Soderini was made gonfalonier for life. Machiavelli entered the government in the early days of the Florentines' effort to re-establish popular government, and the spirit of a crusade for the order of freedom characterized his public service as official and writer to the end of his life.

Six times Marietta and Nicolo looked forward to an increase in their family and they raised to maturity all five children born living. The first child, a boy, came in November, 1503, while Machiavelli was in Rome and the last was born in September, 1514. At his death after having provided for his family for twenty-five years, despite the years of reverses he was able to leave to his wife, whom in his will of 1522 he named as his chief heir and the guardian of their children--an estate equal to that which his father had left to him, his sisters and brother. Marietta survived him twenty-six years. Bernardo, the eldest son, after a turbulent young manhood, married, was the father of seven children and became papal treasurer for the court at Rome; the second son, Ludovico, who like his brother ran afoul the law for rioting, was arrested in 1527 for defacing the coat of arms of the Medici and throwing down a statue of Leo X and, two years

after his father's death died fighting in the siege of Florence; to Baccia's son who entered the church we owe most of our information about Machiavelli. Machiavelli's fourth child, Guido, took the orders. The youngest, Pietro, was killed in a battle with the Turks (1564) after a distinguished career in the military marine of the Grand Duke Cosimo de Medici. The male line was extinguished by the death of Bernardo's grandson.

Fruitful and substantial as his relation with Marietta was it gives no sign either of intellectual intimacy or emotional adequacy. When, shortly after his marriage, he left for his mission to Caesar Borgia, he told his wife that he would be away only a week and was detained for three and a half months. Meanwhile, in the words of Biagio, Marietta "committed a thousand follies" because of his continued absence. When she was delivered of her first child, her husband was on the mission to Rome. The record indicates that he was absent frequently during these critical periods in Marietta's life. After his return from Rome he had been at home but for four months when he left on his second mission to France. Moreover Machiavelli continued throughout his life to seek refreshment with friends such as Barbara Barbera, the gifted singer who assisted him in the production of Mandragola, or with the girls of the town in which he happened to be. For nearly a week after his release from prison, he stayed in public houses of Florence before returning to his home. Although his frequent requests for permission to return home from his earliest missions (to Caesar Borgia, Rome and France) were doubtless related to concern over Marietta, may not the development of his theories of the necessity of obedience to the orders of the state --even when they sacrificed adjustment with his chosen mate--and of the irrationality of women have been related to a lack of

adequate marital adjustment? The record of the years of enforced confinement to his home leaves no clue of companionship with Marietta: only on the one hand the restless searchings of history, as he filled out the fiction of the prince who by force establishes order and, on the other, episodes--more or less literary--of amatory adventures. This reticence regarding mention of the most intimate relationship, however, may well be attributed to conventions governing private correspondence at that time.

When in 1494-1498 Machiavelli entered the public service of the city, Florence had long since lost its internal social unity and was beginning to realize its loss of foreign leadership. Indeed the government established by Savonarola and carried on by Soderini was entirely directed toward recovering the spirit of liberty of the past, calling into the public service those whose ancestors had served the city in public office.

Stimulated as it had been by all of the major movements in the history of mediaeval Italy, but spared the distorting fury of the conquerors, Florentine institutions crystallized so gradually that the shift in the media of constructive expression can be traced with unusual distinctness and the expression of Machiavelli be located in the development of the culture. Under the pressure of rival banking groups seeking to make Florence safe as the center for imperial and papal finance, first (between 1233 and 1236) religious orthodoxy was made supreme over heterodoxy (especially sects advocating poverty), then the progressive appeals to larger parts of the public for support and the desire to end the internal dissensions led to the establishing of the Republic of 1250 and the minting of the gold florin in 1252. The struggles of the Ghibellines against Guelf dominance and, in Florence, of the merchants and tradesmen against the nobles

brought the control, by 1293, into the hands of the organization of twenty-one guilds. Politically and economically this guild structure became a straight-jacket controlled by the richest members of the Woolen Guild until in 1378 a last desperate effort was made to create three new guilds--the twenty-fourth composed of the unskilled and propertiless from all trades, equal in numbers and demanding an equal voice with all of the twenty-three others combined. After the guild's defeat and the exile of thousands of its members, the Florentines drew their unskilled labor from Germany and forbade these foreign-speaking workers to organize. No longer was there an interplay between the culture and the life of all of the people. Those upon whom the society rested most heavily were, by force, kept inarticulate. The suppression of the labor movement had a sequel in the subordination to foreign trade of all domestic interests and the launching of an expansionist policy which based its operations upon a Florentine territory enlarged by the conquest of Pisa in 1409. As the commercial oligarchy increasingly supplanted the more general interests by their own, the Medici emerged as the popular champions until they were able to win a control which grew ever more personal though becoming apparent only very gradually. With the finishing of the great public buildings undertaken in the days of the popular governments and the completion of their decoration, artists were occupied with the opportunities offered by the great families: public gave place to domestic architecture, murals to easel painting, religious to secular painting and familiar to classical subjects; concern over rare and expensive manuscripts and over the revival of ancient languages and their styles left scholars neither time nor interest for the life of the city of Dante, Boccaccio and the Ciompi rebels. Following in his grandfather Cosimo's course,

Lorenzo de' Medici became the "needle of the Italian compass" while mixing the city's and his family's funds to offset the losses which befell his House after the fall of Constantinople and the failure of the Bruges branch. He popularized his control by such measures as the enlistment in his administration of the heads of the families renowned as champions of the popular liberties, and in his Carnival songs by the revival of the Florentine dialect. The preaching of Savonarola and then, in 1494, the descent of Charles VIII into Italy proved that a day of reckoning was near.

After exiling the Medici, the Florentines, soberly renouncing their follies, mobilized their civic traditions and classical learning to meet the new Europe--vastly more difficult with the strong states of France, Spain, England, the uncertainties of Germany, and a Papacy attempting to consolidate a power sufficient to vie with, if not master, these greater powers. The loss of Pisa to Florentine control, a legacy of Charles VIII, determined the direction of the new government's attention and--since Florentines considered that their city could not begin its recovery until Pisa had been reconquered--identified the maintenance and development of Florentine liberties with military success.

The fifteen years' struggle which ensued, the revelation in Caesar Borgia of the possibilities of personally directed human energy, the victory over Pisa after the development of Machiavelli's militia--gave Machiavelli confidence in national arms as the basis for order. Brief, however, was the period accorded Florence for the enjoyment of her hard won victory. The defeat of the Republic and his loss of office and personal liberty which resulted from the weakness of Florence in the face of France and the

papacy, in no way weakened his faith in national arms. Rather, it indicated to him that the hope of a person and a citizen was to be found only through encouraging the Medici to support any member of their family who would give Florence its liberties by force of arms unifying Italy as a secular state. Thus identifying liberty with the property and privileges of his family, class, city, country, he explored in the records of the past and in the experiences of his own time the methods by which leaders have refreshed and reconstituted governments and have established and maintained new regimes.

Though in his writings Machiavelli assumed that human nature is evil and has to be made and kept good by the force of enlightened leaders, in his own immediate relations he achieved a high degree of gracious generosity. When he was away, one of his companions wrote that the band was without ideas for enjoyment. His friends of both sexes found him one with whom they could be themselves without censor. His large family always had resources; he enjoyed the respect and perhaps the love of his wife. In public life by his ingenuity and devoted energy he won the allegiance of his associates in the bureau, turned Vettori--a potential rival--into his close friend and became the chief reliance of the head of the government.

I venture to suggest that it was due to the refreshment which he derived from his personal relations that he gave a new attention to contemporary events and attitudes and that he revealed to men the understanding and direction which were to be found only in that alert and daring leadership which uses every resource that can be made serve the securing of order as the basis for liberty. His genuine interest in living relations, his regard for them as the bearers of the best clues for wise policy,

indicates that his negative view of human nature was a secondary rather than a primary attitude. He had known growth through human association and known it so virily that in and through them he sought to make it more secure by organizing them on a larger scale.

Yet, caught in current conventions such as the unequal relations between the sexes and the supreme loyalty to his own city's interests--though it had become more a structure of coercion than of consent--he developed justifications for disregarding and sacrificing contemporary personalities by giving a supra-human and mythical superiority to the state and its founder.

Machiavelli clearly revealed that the daringly intelligent use of influence is the measure of a man but he did not stop to point out that coercion is the suicide of influence.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUDING SUMMARY

I know not therefore, whether in endeavouring to defend a notion that is exploded by all other authors, I may not have taken a task in hand, which I shall either be obliged to abandon with disgrace, or find very difficult to acquit myself of with reputation: but however that may be, I think, and always shall think, there can be no harm in maintaining an opinion by arguments and reasoning alone, where no violence is offered to enforce it.¹

Moreover, moved by this desire which leads me ceaselessly to do that which may work to the general good for all, I have determined to open a new route, where without doubt I will have plenty of trouble to proceed. . . . The undertaking is difficult; but, aided by those who have encouraged me to take upon myself this task, I hope to carry it sufficiently forward so that there remains little of the road to make from there to the end.²

The road which Machiavelli opened up gave, as he realized, new realms for human perspective. So well did he build that, though since his time the traffic has been heavy and the engineers alert, much of the road remains as he first surveyed and constructed it. If, in places, what he treated as solid fact proved calamitously fictitious and if the end of the road, not so near as he had hoped to leave it, lies still beyond the horizon, we can yet see that signs of the trail which he blazed draw us on in the true direction ahead.

His whole venture toward an empirical approach to the nature of adequate policy he based upon the reliability of opinion defended by reason rather than by violence. To the empire of

¹Political Discourses upon the First Decad of Titus Livius, Works of Nicolas Machiavel, trans. Ellis Farnsworth (London, 1775), III, Bk. 1, chap. lviii, 186.

²Discorsi sopra la Prima Deca di Tito Livio, Libro Primo, Tutte le Opere Storiche e Letterarie di Niccolo Machiavelli (Mazzoni e Casella; Firenze, 1929), pp. 56-57.

reason he affirmed his ultimate allegiance when considering public affairs and he sought that his conclusions be regarded in that light. Indeed so great was his emphasis upon the potentialities of human intelligence employed in public affairs that the subsequently developed view of a well-ordered society in which every person must possess reason-space owes much to him.

From the earliest years, even before his entry into public life, Machiavelli had achieved the focus of his life: an understanding that as one devoted himself to making acceptable to his country the clues in his experience for its welfare, he finds in its establishment the truth in his being. Experience in public life and reflections guided by the political wisdom of the past, convinced Machiavelli that in such wisdom men could direct their course aright while in public service they could find a refreshment which adequately strengthened their courage. Enlightened in this way, a man could move steadily through the glorious course appointed him by heaven.

Official life accompanied and followed by the study of Plutarch, Aristotle, Livy kept Machiavelli alert to examples of the use of foresight in human direction as the signal for his observation and analysis. In Florence during the years between the death of Savonarola and the victory of the Spanish arms restoring the Medici, the years of Machiavelli's secretaryship, republican virtues enjoyed an Indian Summer. During that decade and a half, he was able to analyze the danger to his country, formulate a plan for its solution, carry it to an initial triumph in the victory over Pisa and prepare for the greater test. Disastrous as was the subsequent defeat, he had known too well the responsiveness of events to empirically developed policies to be discouraged in the development of his method. Rather, while an exile search-

ing for clues for his country's security, he identified personality functioning in judgment as the reliable factor in events and the promise of liberty.

As his experience and study matured, Machiavelli found a deeper meaning in the relation of feint to reality. What had at first appeared as radical sin became ruse, deceit of enemies, propaganda, poetry and even a phase of truth itself. The man who personally anticipates wisdom and courage and, open to the suggestions of the many, chooses in himself the reliable way, finds the co-operation of those who transform the old conditions into instruments and prove that the physical and social universe is more truly man's instrument than men's previous training had let them sense. Unlimited fact-making Machiavelli found characteristic of those who stabilized order. In vital personal action truth is made. All nature whether regarded in physical or social aspect is defined with respect to such personal action. Time itself is the most powerful person's use of convention. His way is the source of wisdom, for all other claims to knowledge bow down before it and serve it. By his use of adroitness and feint, the leader makes the most sacred conventions demonstrate their utility for him. Indeed the significance of conventions and sanctities lies in their utility for men of courageous will because sanctity comes from use in growth and effective action of this kind is the proof of one's worth. Friendship, Machiavelli came to believe, derives its nature from the terms of state. Hence from early age and during the formative years men should be trained and educated in the bases of the order in terms of which they grow. Considering, as he did, that virtue was possible only in that country which was victorious in battle, education in forming judgment implied that a state should train and rely on its

own citizens for war. Men should be encouraged in their potentialities through observing and studying the examples of great men. History is the record of order-making human will and should be written and studied in terms of human judgment in the most decisive form of action. The state-maker himself is the maker of truth because his personal action inherently forms the standard.

Moving as he always did in a friendly group, even when in the loneliness of disappointment, he had friends who like the sight-openings of mediaeval casques let in the genial and directing rays. When the government of which he was a member was swept aside and he was no longer one of those who might carry his observation into official action, it was still his judgment touching public affairs which with his friends' encouragement he developed into a bridge back to the refreshment of official participation. Member of a family of six, and throughout his life surrounded by friendly companions, he knew that free welcome which is the condition of life. He appreciated friendship as the maintainer of his endurance. He found empty all expressions which would resign him to isolation. He came to consider that men win respect only through the promotion of public authority and respect is the very condition of relations in which they can enjoy friendship.

A man, therefore, Machiavelli held, attains his full greatness and becomes himself as he conquers his fears and stands forth creating order despite any threatening limitations. Human state-making power was the lodestar by which Machiavelli set the course of his scientific voyage. Since he considered that human nature is always the same, in his view there are no great achievements which men cannot duplicate. For him who dares direct his own course the state holds no mystery. Those whose well-being depends on others, however, the latter must treat as essentially

restless, disloyal, evil and controllable by the use of fictions, trickery and violence. He admitted aspects of human nature which made it questionable whether or not men would accept such rule and whether such a policy of control would move to the desired end with that steadiness which should characterize sound leadership; since, however, he always and unquestioningly assumed certain inequalities between human beings and associated ultimate values with that kind of "order," he set aside his doubts and interested himself in the form which he considered most likely to be effective in achieving the order of freedom in those terms. Practice in learning the use of reason in one's own experience, alertness to its operation in others' experience (past and present), recognition that the resources at hand have possibilities limited only by one's own courage and are always more reliable than the best under others' control--such, Machiavelli concluded, are the conditions of the establishment and maintenance of power among men and the reduction of the violence of fortune's dominance. Stirred by the belief that men are themselves the cause of perhaps the greater part of their limitations and that such direction as there is in society men give by deliberate planning, in office or out he continued his search into the possibilities for men's control of their own direction. Government in all of its phases, he held, is human. In awareness of this fact is the chance of understanding the defects as well as of meeting present problems with more intelligent courage. Not only is order man's creation, but, according to Machiavelli, any order is traceable to one man as founder. Character is influence. The maintenance of mastery both preserves and creates power. The development of one's influence makes the man. The possession of power unused to enlarge the range of responsible action, the neglect or waste of influence,

Machiavelli treated as the unforgiveable sin. The magnitude of character was, in his eyes, determined, therefore, by one's share in the establishing or maintaining of the state. Intrinsic in power is its public character. Even when changing the pattern, one must act in a manner demonstrating order, for it is judgment in action which is the heart of wisdom and the wise do not shut themselves off from it. In his fiction of the founder who, by coercive means, establishes order, Machiavelli repeatedly held that the leader must proceed through some system of rules, even though these be laid down and revised by himself, if he is to avoid incurring fateful hatred. Machiavelli expressed man's sense that power is knowledge: setting the standard of reality, it is the proof of intelligence. In service to his country through the analysis and use of courageous reason, Machiavelli found his life's meaning considering as he did that public service is the source and strength of knowledge. In office he decided upon the kind of strength which his city lacked and personally sought to develop it. When, after the fall of Boderini and the return of the Medici, he realized at last that the new government would not employ him, he sought to make available to them whatever in his experience would promote the liberty of Italy. Mingled with his love of country was that companionship of friends and love and responsibility for his family which, amid the shattering events between 1512 and 1527, kept unwavering his determination to live or die honorably and led him to those contributions which have transcended the limitations which he himself had conceived for order.

Amid the disasters to his city and the collapse of his prospects, shadows of fear fell across his outlook diffracting his awareness of reality and, mirage-like, making fictions of the power displaced. Some of the factors contributing to his deep

unquestioning prejudices of inequality are clearly detectable. Only faint traces can be found of others which may aid in understanding his view of himself as an observer and adviser rather than ever as the truth-maker whom he idealized. Machiavelli's reliance on the empirical and pragmatic method in arriving at his recommendations for leadership places in high relief his departures from it. Close examination of these instances brings to light the fact that in immediate relations he showed an appreciation of his fellow beings which was widely reciprocated so that, as we have seen, he had many and broad acquaintanceships, several deep friendships lasting throughout many years despite major changes of fortune, and a large and firmly-knit family. In all of these he shared their developments from the perspective of himself as center. With relation to the government of the city, however, he accepted for himself the role of a subordinate rather than either that of a director or a co-operator. And in those relations in which one is not himself taking the lead, he held that one should recognize the most powerful person in his sphere of action and give his best judgment with detachment to the realization of that one's plans. When Machiavelli attempted to conceive of a power superior to himself, directed by a will other than his own, the fictions developed. Only in general and abstract relations did he write of human nature as unreliable, bad, controllable only by fictions in terms of which men could justifiably be sacrificed for collective interests. On the other hand his very devotion to the distillation of wisdom from experience and his passion for its being made available to the leader argues, however, for his having held, in reality, a much more positive view of human nature than chapter xvii of The Prince would indicate. Moreover, although through most of his writings, Machiavelli assumed

that republics had been and could be instituted by individuals who used violence to establish order and then renounced their dictatorial powers, once, but with absolute clarity, he did admit that he did not know whether there had been or could be any such dictators or states so established. This question regarding the validity of these assumptions which he generally employed in his writings arose, I believe, from his experience with human nature in his immediate social relations. Nor is this uncertainty regarding the historical and psychological possibility of such order-establishing and power-renouncing individuals the only instance in which views central in his idea of the development of public policy express a confidence in human nature probably derived from his immediate experience. Adequate policy making, he held, involves taking into account the greatest diversity of people. One who would be of value to his city as an observer must maintain contacts with all kinds of people. Satisfactory adjustment requires a capacity for dealing with persons in terms of this diversity. There is a minimum consideration which must be shown both to the individual's person and to his property. Those are but some of the variables to which the indeterminacy characteristic of politics is attributable. Consequently one must be ready to make adjustments even though for no other reason than to accord to "the times." Hence these distortions and resorts to fiction may be considered as expressions of the old enemy, the not yet conquered chance or ignorance which clouded with violent fiction but did not conceal his scientific perception.

As, far from any familiar guides, the aviator relies on the falcon-eye to indicate his true direction, so the leader surrounded by formlessness and void affirms his considerate will and becomes a lawful order. Throughout his life and writings, Machia-

velli found men limited perhaps only by indifference to their own powers of will. The fact that he directed all of his analysis to point out the unconditioned reality of the power and the methods by which it has been implemented indicates that he believed that the defects, at least of leadership, were primarily due to ignorance. His advocacy of republican institutions as the form of government most flexible and congenial for the formation and execution of sound policy accords with this confidence in the self awareness of the human will. The primary characteristic of living men he considered to be the making of policy. Personal daring, willing the order of freedom, is the nature of man's strength. The medium of one's growth is his personal daring even of disorder for public purpose. The unit and moment of action, he emphasized, is the personal present. It deserves the highest regard and the closest scrutiny because it alone is at hand. His emphasis upon contacts with all kinds of people and his presentation of analyses in terms of particular situations are both but aspects of his making the present known in terms of influential actions available. The brevity of one's time for mature action, the limited view and the consequently frequent and great changes in human affairs restrict predictability in political matters. One can in a degree offset these handicaps if he deals with problems and dangers while they are small and at hand, and seeks by such responsible participation his most reliable clues for further action. Periodically men's awareness of reality must be freshened by what Machiavelli termed a return to first principles--a new contact with the order of truth. Truth involves action so vital that any alternative is but a pale reflection. Ritual sacrifice in religion, composition in the arts, invention in technology, laboratory experiments in science, campaigns and elections in politics mirror

this dramatic character of reality. In plans taking shape in the light of tests by deeds, participants sense reality. Fact must be defined with stunning blows. By such shocks the nature of order is established by those able to rely on their own resources, concentrated, responsive, whole. To the extent that fortune, rather than intelligence, has influence, the ultimate action-determining fact takes a violent and military form. Whether in domestic or foreign affairs, violent changes, as Machiavelli pointed out, have unpredictable consequences. Hence the sole kind of dictatorship which might, if any could, advance the way of order among men would be a self-liquidating or disappearing dictatorship. He who recognizes in the present the opportunity to effect his order in humanly acceptable terms, who fearlessly transforms conventional limitations so that they enlarge the way of life for those affected, is Machiavelli's state-maker. Enlightened human will be recognized as the sure and true director for a man and his society.

Centered in his enlightened will, a man's life becomes a fire, consuming the corruption of isolation and welding together the structure of public order. The sacrifice of personal timidity for public purpose is the way by which at once order is promoted and man attains knowledge of his character and strength. It is the means of virtue. Sincerity or honesty, as Machiavelli wrote the young Raffaello Girolami, is essential but not enough. In fact Machiavelli's writings indicate that his definition of that which he was the first to designate as "state" might be: fearless personal action enlarging the order of freedom. Indeed, tried by the ordeal which befel him and his city in the uncertainties after 1512, he became a living example of self reliant citizenship. Through his appeals to actual or potential leaders of his time,

he was fixing human attention on men's opportunity, privilege, responsibility and necessity for taking possession of the direction of their own lives. Machiavelli devoted himself to making known in the given moment the possibilities in courageous judgment. His has been a powerful beacon illuminating the way for those who use and develop their capacity for leadership by endeavoring to form larger political units.

The profound and revolutionary changes from 1527 to the present have served somewhat to clarify the true and the fictional elements in Machiavelli's work but so deep and clear was his observation and so slight has been our institutional progress that his conclusions are still pregnant with wisdom for the meeting of our daily problems.

Still acting as if broken into exclusive groups, men seek to promote their friendly interests at each other's expense. The ancient and ever present personal testimony that men cannot in fact accept coercion continues to be demonstrated by the persistent struggle against monopolistic efforts. Men have even found zest in challenging the successive difficulties encountered until they have come face to face with the present which to us, as to men aware of any present, appear total, fateful and decisive. Policy-making in the past, even as we have seen in Machiavelli's program for his city and for Italy, rested on the establishment and maintenance of unequal and exploitive relationships.

A growing awareness of the long-run ineffectiveness of the conventional political prudence--a critical view which Machiavelli signally led--has pressed forward the quest for more constructive policy. The search has not been wholly vain either in understanding, institutions, achievements or possibilities. Though it was long ago that Aristotle said that man is by nature a polit-

ical animal, men continue to grow in the recognition that their security is found in their achievement of integration through active emergence from isolation.

Along with this awareness of the social direction which the search for more constructive policy involves, a clearer perception of the personal implications has developed. The errors involved in the attempted escapes into the fiction of impersonality are hourly bearing down upon us. Many indications point toward the conclusion that one will know the law only when he grasps de facto personalities in all of their diversity as its rightful expression and acts personally in its terms. Furthermore it is glaringly apparent that any one who cherishes something more than he does his friendly relations with another person turns against his own species and isolates himself from the source of his own life interest. On the other hand action which expresses inclusive regard for the persons affected refreshes all with a sense of growth and significance transcending the strain involved in its performance.

Such wholly responsible leadership depends upon the recognition both of creative individuality and of creative membership. Those who establish their organizations in terms of the personalities involved do not rely upon exploitation of individual "deficiencies" and "inferiorities" and so do not resort to fictions in self-defense against the growing body of knowledge which challenges interpretations of individual differences as inequalities and against the ever-present protest which such efforts arouse. The development of representative government, the popular demand for share in public offices, the requirements that expert and professional claims rest on utility rather than prestige are all expressions of the attempt to subordinate concepts, structures and

methods to personalities.

Difficult as has been the clarification of the nature of leadership in terms of creative individuality, the problems of creative membership have been no less perplexing. The development of skill in corporate direction has at every step involved vital risk. The refreshment in collective action which, as already noted, has always amazed men, has been a repeated object of exploitation by those building on the assumption of inequality. Here also, however, men persisted in associating for promoting their interests but also demanded a share in the direction of the drafts on their energies. In monopolistic claims, reaction and counteraction, we trace the development of Church, Nation, Business Company, Class--a continual struggle between monopoly and growth. Here too the mystery has been challenged: on religious, political, psychological grounds, the corporations have been demonstrated to be nothing more than the personalities associated together. There is a deep respect for the significance of personal experience in Machiavelli's recognition that the political corporation has been formed and reformed many times over by individuals who were making it a tool for their purposes. In its most secret and sacred aspect the forming of corporations is, he perceived, an instrument of personality. Men have subsequently found a zest in establishing their relations in freer forms. The history of law, said Sir Henry Maine, is traceable in the movement from status to contract.³

Increasing evidence supports the position that co-operation is the condition of effective association. In establishing the American government, the founders recognized consent as the basis of legitimate authority and declared the government the

³Sir Henry S. Maine, Ancient Law, chap. v, p. 165.

tool of the human beings governed.

In many respects modern political thought in its democratic and scientific aspects is but a broader application of observations characteristic of Machiavelli.

He accepted in the name of human reason the opportunity involved in the making of policy. So clearly did he make his demonstration that none have since been able to relieve men of the responsibility. Certainly there has been a deepening of the conviction that by devoting oneself to making acceptable to his country the clues in his own experience one finds in its establishment the truth in his being. The democratic faith is that central belief of Machiavelli that human experience develops sufficient guidance and courageous participation gives sufficient strength for the human direction of the order of freedom.

Machiavelli emphasized, as a condition of leadership, that a prince must have a capacity for receiving from others the truths of their experience as an aid to the clearer expression of the unique order for which he has responsibility. The ability to direct action into a steady course determined with regard to the available experience of reason is no longer considered to be the concern only of an individual ruler such as Machiavelli was seeking. Popular sovereignty implies that every citizen takes responsibility for growth of tempered strength in action. Each chooses personal self-responsibility individually and collectively rather than lets himself drift or be drawn into servitude to arbitrary violence shrouding its human sacrifices in mystery.

Machiavelli recognized that the state-maker feels himself unconditioned by the conceptions which others have formulated of the physical universe and its resources, of society, its conventions and history, or even of man and his habits; but that there

is a responsiveness to his deed which makes them unprecedentedly effective. Through such men as George Fox, Locke, Hume, Rousseau, Kant, Dewey, Whitehead the intervening centuries have prompted the understanding that a man is in nature anterior to all conceptions of reality since they are but human hypotheses for projecting the conceiver's sense of order.

Machiavelli pointed out that only as a state-maker lives fearlessly and constructively can he establish the order in which he can express himself steadily and let himself be known in terms of the laws of his being. Moreover the wise prince does not rely on aid from abroad but looks to his present resources for his opportunity to establish his power. The resources of one's own control give the best opportunity for sound leadership and leadership is merely being articulate in an orderly manner.

These principles also are found to have general reference. Citizens wise in establishing and maintaining their freedom look within themselves for the direction of their policy and associate in terms of giving mutual advantage rather than of seeking through exploitation to meet their own "needs."

Machiavelli held that the possession of a certain sense of power is a condition of others' regard and friendship. Only through articulateness can men open the way for the choice of mutual relations of friendliness from which they derive their courage, endurance and direction. A man who is living forth his leadership finds state-making no authoritative mystery but an ever more adaptable, serviceable and natural instrument. What Machiavelli pointed out as the experience of the statesman, experience with various associations has indicated as true for all men--that human association in its contribution to their sense of power is no austere deity which men should serve with fear, but is inci-

dental to entering upon the opportunity for personal fulfilment through interpreting the reality in his own experience into terms which work for the well-being of all. The state is a device by which men win their personality through joining together in such a way that they conquer chance which is characterized by impersonality and violence and which is always attended by the assumption of human inequality.

The recognition found throughout all of Machiavelli's writings that organization is a leader's tool and is more efficient if he uses it in public interest, becomes in the Declaration of Independence the recognition that state-making is the tool of all since all rightfully share in defining the public interest. Government which truly derives its power from consent and serves as the instrument promoting the life, liberty and pursuit of happiness of those affected by it, provides an unobstructed interplay between their desires and the forming of public policy.

In view of the human quality of direction, in order to realize the opportunity for development which the indeterminacy of politics offers and to outreach the violence of chance born of ignorance, Machiavelli recognized man's need for a new type of reasoning. The old type broke down when faced by two problems which invariably arise in the forming of policies: the need to comprehend a great number of individuals and to satisfy those who search for guidance in changing from one set of conventions to a new social pattern. His Report on German Affairs and his Report on French Affairs as well as occasionally other writings of his show Machiavelli's attempt to deal with the former problems by employing the fiction of national and racial characteristics. In later centuries this problem was to lead to the development of statistics, the survey, sampling and attempts at the measurement

of attitudes and opinions. The second problem he tried to meet with the fiction of his public-spirited dictator and, as Plato had done long before, with the suggestion that by the use of ruse a leader could free himself from the general bondage to convention, using it as his most effective instrument for the control of others' direction. He was thereby advocating that propaganda be employed more deliberately. In addition to these more desperate expressions, he framed hypotheses to aid in his analyses and, at least with respect to the problem of the Florentine militia where his public action attained its sharpest focus, employed something of a controlled experiment in the process. He glimpsed the possibility of an order established through a policy of experiment suggested and directed by experience and projected beyond the fringes of the limited order already familiar.

There is throughout his work an implicit assumption that human nature operates according to basic law and that through contacts with all kinds of people, through observation of experience, through the availability of the best judgment of devoted citizens who communicate their conclusions with detachment, through judgment tested in controlled action, and through planful action able to be adapted to "the times," the most responsible participant using wide research but making a close but swiftly executed decision can give a secure and steady direction. Machiavelli perceived that policy is stable only as it represents the interest of the whole rather than the dominance of a faction. Ultimately, facts are determined by their endurance in the mid-stream of events. The problem of gathering up the varied experience so that it can aid in direction, the wide spread development of habits of research and of detached conclusions arrived at through responsible public experience, he considered best met by republican gov-

ernments; to such habits he attributed the steadier direction and the higher proportion of distinguished personalities which, in his opinion, history conceded republics.

The increase of magnitude of political units and the intricate interdependence in the society and the world makes desirable a social engineering more efficient than in Machiavelli's time. The carrying forward of his purpose--the reduction of the violence of the rule of chance--requires a foresight which is the fruit of an ever more inclusive and immediate participant observation, and the arguments which he presented for republican municipal or national institutions have deepened into the demand for world democracy. Only a more zealous allegiance to the whole truth in the experience of all will enable the people participating in associations on the modern scale to direct to their well-being the tremendous power which the corresponding logic applied to the physical universe is releasing. The neglect or sacrifice of the evidence from part of human experience for the sake of fictions by which any claim of privilege would attempt their defense will condemn them to sterile isolation and all will burn up in violence their chance for directing their energies to general well-being.

A certain disjunction between Machiavelli's immediate relations and his concept of the state underlay the contrast between his behavior with his friends and his assumptions of the relations between rulers and ruled. It is interesting in Machiavelli's case and perhaps on systematic inquiry would be found to have general significance, that in specific actions the proportion in which the alloy of fiction is mixed with the ore of experience bears direct relation to the social distance from the personal experience of the event or subject. As we have seen, his regard for

experience as the source of science and his confidence in men's responsiveness to wise leadership in public interest indicate that he was ultimately reliant upon the immediate experiences rather than the conventional writings and interpretations of political behavior so that his standard was not set by fictions but by experience as the ultimate test. The closer relation which has developed subsequently between membership and direction has strengthened the influence of the standards developed in the awareness of immediate experience and revealed more clearly the absurdities as well as the calamities which the retention of fiction-dependent claims entail. The expression of the broader membership, the vital endorsement of the liberating truth involves the sacrifice of many pleasant conventions. All of those kindly conventions which have flattered some as superior, however, are but beautiful sirens which draw human beings from their companionship in truth and enthrall men in hollow servitude to violent fictions.

The clarification of insight in Machiavelli's life came through his devotion to the promotion of the order of freedom in terms of the friendly relations of his Florentines. We have traced the sense of loneliness and isolation which attended in Machiavelli the transformation of collapsing "values" into the way for more human security. In a very real sense membership in a society of free people implies that each is a mature state-maker. Machiavelli described as well as, in a high degree, lived the difficult way of sacrificing the more isolated conventional claim for the more inclusive human reality.

Higher than the logic culminating in good counsels, he placed truth. Such living objectifies and communicates with detachment that which responsible participation develops. Staking

one's self on his best hypothesis, freed from suicidal fiction, by such action one challenges violent ignorance and through tempered devotion builds the state. It is in this sense that Machiavelli ranked the founders of religions even above the establishers of political orders.

Each one is himself the former of his state with all of the potentialities of power and responsibility. We have gone too far in our understanding to be able to hold that we can legitimately stop even with Machiavelli's role of adviser--implying, as it does, salvation by another as leader. Machiavelli demonstrated in full sincerity that such a relationship is an evasion which must supplement itself with violence as the basis of an irrational and fictional "order" and lead to strife and futility. Rather, each is the full inheritor of the wisdom of monarchs and of the insight of religious leaders and must incorporate and carry it forward into co-operative relations whereas the leaders of the past stopped with the anarchy of violence. One's ability in all of his social relations to plan and carry through courageous action which sets the standard of fairness for those involved indicates one's magnitude as a citizen of a free society, as a functioning member of popular sovereignty, quite as much as, in Machiavelli's eyes, it indicated the magnitude of a prince.

With respect to the nature of men as reflected in political behavior, Machiavelli so stated his disturbing conclusions that they could be examined fruitfully only by more systematic and responsible observation in participation. Rage, which he held to be most readily roused by offenses against one's female relatives, one's property, person or honor, is least able to be managed by policy and hence the wise ruler will not incur it. Concerning the other two emotions which Machiavelli considered basic

--fear and love, he maintained that since "men love according to their own will and fear according to that of another," one has the best chance of controlling others in terms of fear; furthermore friends, being a function of power, will cool if they suspect weakness. Machiavelli nevertheless showed considerable understanding of the relation of voluntary association, friendship, love and personality development in his immediate relations; he recognized that friendships obtained by "greatness or nobility of mind" may be secured and in time of need relied upon; and he was by no means certain that the use of terror and violence would produce steady and stable direction.

Only by living forth the truth is a man free and aware of the security of that which belongs to him (his property) in the order of friendship; for friendliness is ever the source of courage and in the enlargement of the friendly order every capacity achieves its reality and the light of a man shines forth clearly.

Machiavelli's position as political scientist harmonized with his endorsement of republican government and, it should not be ignored, with the conventional ideals, whatever the practice, of his as well as our political society. In all sciences we see the attempt to bring diverse factors into a pattern which accords with the character of all of the parts. Political science is no exception. He saw ignorance as the parent of violence and of the related fears which it is the function of public leadership to reduce. He saw the contradictory qualities required in leadership: the obligation to demonstrate steadiness and comprehension notwithstanding changing times and the diversity of the followers. The longer life of republics he attributed to their development of more men of ability. In varied crises they could shift leadership correspondingly and, if for the crisis they concentrated

power, in the long run they tended toward admitting people to the broadest possible participation on the deepest level of the conditions of order. Reliance on the people for support, he considered to be the indication of security in contemporary states.

He advocated and demonstrated in his personal attitude a detached devotion to carrying out the higher orders at whatever risk or cost, to maintaining sensitivity ready to carry through wholeheartedly suggestions from the authority. Responsible for his best, one cannot with justice act as a neutral but must drive through to the truth keeping a direct relation to the central authority, or--as Machiavelli expressed it to the young ambassador Girolami--"keeping the ear of the sovereign."

When, in the long human struggle for displacing violent fortune by the state, one's allegiance to the empire of reason requires him to strike out a new path, he can take heart in the recognition "that there can be no harm in maintaining an opinion by argument and reasoning alone where no violence is offered to enforce it" and that the magnitude of a man is measured in terms of fearless personal action enlarging the order of freedom.

